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## THE ARAMAIC PAPYRI OF ELEPHANTINE IN ENGLISH—*Continued*

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### B. NAME LISTS

Mere lists of names with here and there a note, sometimes revealing their purpose, more often abbreviated to unintelligibility for the uninitiated, are to most people not very interesting. In this instance, however, they offer not a little insight into the ethnic composition of the frontier post at Elephantine. Moreover, many ancient names, Semitic names in particular, reveal not a little of the religious thought of the people who use them, as George Buchanan Gray has demonstrated for Hebrew.

It is hoped that the copious biblical references will be of use to teachers and students and to thoughtful readers in general; to facilitate reference for non-Hebraists, the forms of the American Revised Version are used wherever possible without implying that they represent the Elephantine pronunciation.

Chronological order is in most cases impossible to determine; No. 16 should, indeed, probably precede No. 15, as an examination of the cross-references will show, but its relative non-importance relegated it to second place, while the *pièce de résistance* was placed at the head.

#### NO. 15. NAME LIST WITH AN ACCOUNT (PROBABLY OF A TEMPLE-TAX COLLECTION)

A list of persons who contributed two shekels each to a fund or collection having to do with the service of Jahweh and, as appears in the body of the document, with two bethels or inhabitants of a bethel. Hidden under the guise of a mere name list and account this document is fully as important for our knowledge of the religious thought and habits of the Jewish community at Elephantine as is the great petition, No. 8. Suggestions for its interpretation will be found in the footnotes.

This papyrus is a palimpsest; the underlying script, which appears throughout in varying degrees of preservation, as is its habit after washing, was Demotic, and appears to have been a name list also. In the present writing Col. VII, ll. 1-6, are in a different hand from that which precedes. The rest of Col. VII and Col. VIII seem again to be in a different hand or hands. Col. VII, ll. 1-6, may have been written by *Idnġh*, the son of Gemariah himself.

The probable date (419 B.C.) and purpose are discussed in the notes. *APE* Pap. 18 (P. 13488).

*Superscription*<sup>1</sup>

On the 3. of Phamenoth,<sup>2</sup> year 5.<sup>3</sup> These (are) the names of the Jewish army who gave (in?) money (*lit.* silver) to (or for) *Jhy* the god man for man the sum (*lit.* silver) of sh(eqels) <2>.<sup>4</sup>

*Column I*

<1> *M* . . . ꝥ <daugh>ter of Gemariah<sup>6</sup> son of Mahseiah<sup>7</sup> the sum of  
                   š. 2;

1<sup>8</sup> Zaccur<sup>9</sup> . . . . . son of Zaccur<sup>9</sup> the sum of š. 2;

<sup>1</sup> This is placed, as a sort of title or heading, at the head of the document, which is written on a wide sheet or roll in eight successive columns, seven on the recto and one on the verso. The superscription runs in one continuous line over the top of Cols. I and II, three words near the middle, "who gave (in) money," being heavily underscored. Otherwise the space of a line is left blank between this heading and the first lines of Cols. I and II.

<sup>2</sup> The original has *Pmnhṯp*, as elsewhere in *APA* and *APE*.

<sup>3</sup> In all probability of Darius II; cf. Col. VII; l. 1, n. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Only a fragment of a stroke, probably the first stroke of the letter š, abbreviation for sheqel, remains. The rest, as well as the numeral 2, both readily supplied from the body of the document, is broken away.

<sup>5</sup> The fragments of letters between *M* . . . *t* may be restored to read Meshulle-meth; cf. II Kings 21:19.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. No. 12 (*APE* 5): l. 1, n. 1; No. 13. l. 5, n. 2.

<sup>7</sup> The name occurs not infrequently in both *APE* and *APA*; see index of proper names, which is in preparation and to which readers are once for all referred for all except the more important cross-references in these papyri. In the Old Testament it is found in Jer. 32:12 and 51:59.

<sup>8</sup> The series of strokes placed before every individual name in this list do not, perhaps, correspond exactly to the numeral 1, whereby they have been rendered in the translation, but are rather to be understood as check marks added in counting after all the names had been written.

<sup>9</sup> So the name is written, after the commonly received form of the Massoretic text in the English version of Num. 13:4; I Chron. 4:26; 24:27; 25:2; Ezra 8:14

- 1 Šr(or d)ī . . . . . Hosea son of Hr(or d)mn<sup>1</sup> the sum of š. 2;  
 — All<3><sup>2</sup>
- 5 1 Hose<a?> . . . . . ʔlnyrī hy the sum of š. 2 l<h><sup>3</sup>;  
 1 Hyš . . . . . son of Hoshaiāh son of Zephani<a<sup>4</sup> the sum  
 of š. 2> lh;  
 1 . . . . . h the sum of š. 2 lh;  
 . . . . . il the sum of š. 2 lh;  
 . . . . . son of Ihy . . . . . <the sum of> š. 2 lh;  
 10 . . . . . son of Nh . . . . . h<the sum of š.> 2 lh;  
 . . . . . son of Anani . . . . .  
 . . . . . <dau>ghter of Zbd<sup>5</sup> . . . . .

(variant); Neh. 3:2; 10:12; 12:35; 13:13. The name is quite as common in these documents as in the later texts of the Old Testament. The name of the king of Hamath, whose inscription, written early in the eighth century B.C., published by the French consul Pognon in 1907, will be found in English translation in the Appendix, is often so read; this reading is anything but certain, as the consonants of the papyri and the Old Testament are regularly *Zkyr*, those of the inscription *Zkr*. Cf. note on the name under the translation of the inscription.

<sup>1</sup> Except for the Hosea, the names of this line cannot be identified. Hosea son of *Hrmn* was probably closely related to *Hrmn* son of ʔyš<sup>5</sup> No. 16, l. 2. *Hrmn* may be Syriac *harmnā*, "serpent." It may, however, also be an abbreviation of some *Hrm* name, like *Hrmnathan*. Any connection with Mt. Hermon is exceedingly improbable. Of the first name, as we do not know whether the first letter should be read as *s* or *sh*, nor whether the second letter is *d* or *r*, nor whether something is missing after *ī* or not, nothing further can be said.

<sup>2</sup> The horizontal line before the "All" is probably used to eliminate this line from the count of individuals. The number 3 is not quite certain; one stroke and a fragment of a second is all that the original exhibits.

<sup>3</sup> The first name may be read Hosea or Hoshaiāh; both forms of the name occur in these documents, the former with especial frequency, as both are found in the Old Testament (Num. 13:8, 16; Deut. 32:44; II Kings 15:30; 17:1, 3, 4, 6; 18:1, 9 f.; Hos. 1:1, 2; I Chron. 27:20; Neh. 10:23; and Neh. 12:32; Jer. 42:1; 43:2). The second name, probably father of Hosea or Hoshaiāh, may be read either *Elnūrī* or *Bethelnūrī*. The mysterious *hy* and *lh*, the latter supplemented from the following lines, might be read "he (himself)" and "for him(self)," respectively; more probably they are abbreviated notes of some sort in common use in these lists. In either case we are not certain of their meaning; cf. l. 19, n. 5, Col. VII, l. 6, n. 1, and Col. VIII, l. 1, n. 6. In view of the examples in Col. VIII, the possibility that something more than simple *h* should be supplied after this first *l* of a series of *lh*'s, perhaps the name of the century, *Šdn*, l. 18, must be left open.

<sup>4</sup> Zephaniah (Zeph. 1:1; Jer. 21:1; 29:25, 29; 52:24; II Kings 25:18; Jer. 37:3; Zech. 6:10, 14; I Chron. 6:21; cf. 6:9; 15:5, 11). The first name in the line may have been Hosea <son of X> son of Hoshaiāh; more probably it was a longer name not otherwise known compounded with *Hδša* " (he) hath helped." The mention of the grandfather, perhaps even of the great-grandfather, may indicate a person of some consequence, or, in the absence of surnames, it may serve to differentiate this from a similar list of common names.

<sup>5</sup> Possibly Zebadiāh (I Chron. 8:15, 17; 12:7; 27:7; Ezra 8:8; 10:20; cf. I Chron. 26:2; II Chron. 17:8; 19:11), or abbreviated to Zabdaī, the Zebedaeus of

..... <dau>ghter of *Plū<sup>1</sup>* .....  
 15 ..... daughter of .....  
 ..... daughter of .....  
 The whole century of *Šndn<sup>2</sup>* .....  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 Century of *Nbū<sup>c</sup>qb<sup>4</sup>* 1 Shallum son of Menahem<sup>5</sup>

### Column II

1 Meshullam the son of *Šmū<sup>h</sup>* (the) s(um of)<sup>6</sup> §. 2 *lh*;  
 1 *Plū<sup>i</sup>* the son of Micah<sup>7</sup> (the) s(um of) §. 2 *lh*;

the New Testament, or Zabdiel (I Chron. 27:2; Neh. 11:14), or Zabdi (Josh. 7:1, 17 f.; I Chron. 8:19; 27:27; Neh. 11:17).

<sup>1</sup> Here probably a masculine proper name; the same name, feminine, in No. 13, l. 3; cf. n. 8. The full name *Pelūliah* is found in this document, Col. IV, l. 20; *Plū<sup>i</sup>h*, possibly to be read as in the received form of the Old Testament Massorah Pelaliah (Neh. 11:12), but possibly also simply a shorter (older?) writing of Peluliah is found in Col. VI, l. 11.

<sup>2</sup> See No. 1, l. 6, n. 1. The name *Šndn* may possibly be the Babylonian *Sin-iddin*, though at this time we should expect for this the writing *Sndn* instead of *Šndn*; but note *Šnh<sup>c</sup>rīb*, more frequent than *Šnh<sup>c</sup>rīb* in the Aḥīqar fragments; cf. Col. VIII, l. 1, n. 6.

<sup>3</sup> The original exhibits between ll. 18 and 19 a heavy stroke similar to the one found under the superscription, see above, Superscription, n. 1; evidently a paragraph or section divider.

<sup>4</sup> See No. 7, l. 23, and n. 1.

<sup>5</sup> The final letter of this name is not quite certain. Cf. No. 14, l. 2, nn. 2 and 3. Note that the mysterious *lh* does not appear after this first name in the new century; see above, l. 5, n. 3, and compare Col. VIII, l. 1, n. 6.

<sup>6</sup> Meshullam occurs frequently in these documents, as it does in the Old Testament (II Kings 22:3; Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah, *passim*). The father's name, from the root *sāmāh*, "to rejoice," is pure Hebrew, although it is not found in the Old Testament; the form would seem to be *Sammū(a)h*, a much used hypocoristic form, like Shallum, Zaccur (Col. I, l. 2), Nahum, etc. From this point onward the word *kesef*, "silver, money, the sum of" is abbreviated in the original to *k*, "(the) s(um of)."

<sup>7</sup> *Plū<sup>i</sup>* may be either Palti (Num. 13:9; I Sam. 25:44) abbreviated from Paltiel (II Sam. 3:15; Num. 34:26); or Piltai (Neh. 12:17), probably abbreviation of Pelatiah (Ezek. 11:1, 13; I Chron. 3:21; 4:42; Neh. 10:22). The latter is slightly more probable, as the unabbreviated form is also found in these documents and corresponds better to the taste of the time as indicated in the Old Testament. The father's name is, of course, Micah, like the name of the prophet, Mic. 1:1, abbreviated from Micaiah (Jer. 26:18; see also II Kings 22:12, cf. II Chron. 34:20). The earliest occurrence would seem to be Judg., chaps. 17 and 18. "Michael," abbreviation of which might have the same or a similar form, is not probable, as it does not occur in these papyri, though it, too, occurs frequently, not only in Daniel, but also in Chronicles and Ezra.

- 1 Malchijah the son of *Itym* the son of Hadadnûrî<sup>1</sup> <(the) s(um of) >š. 2 lh;  
 20 1 Shelemiah the son of Jashûb (the) s(um of) š < 2 l > h;<sup>2</sup>  
 5 1 *Gdyl* the son of Meshullam the son of *Mbîhî* < h<sup>3</sup> (the) s(um of) > š. 2 lh;  
 1 1 Menahem the son of *Hşul hy* the son of *Šm*<sup>4</sup> . . . . . ;  
 1 *Šimk* the son of Meshullam *hy* (the) s(um of) š. 2 lh;  
 1 *Gdyl* the son of *Šmuh hy* (the) s(um of) š. 2 lh;  
 1 Meshullam the son of Haggai<sup>6</sup> the son of *Hşul* (the) s(um of) š. 2 lh;  
 10 1 *Hşul* the son of Haggai the son of *Hşul* (the) s(um of) š. 2 lh;  
 . . . . . l<sup>7</sup> . . . . . ;  
 . . . . . š. 2;  
 . . . . . š. 2;  
 . . . . . ;  
 15 . . . . . 2,<sup>8</sup>  
 . . . . . ;  
 . . . . . š. 2;<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Malchijah (Jer. 21:1; 38:1, 6; Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, *passim*). *Itym* is scarcely the Hebrew *idôlm*, "orphan"; like *Itm*, APA, l. 1, and Ithmah (I Chron. 11:46), it is probably an abbreviation. *Itmk*<sup>l</sup> has been suggested as the full name by Lidzbarski. The form here is perhaps to be read *Ialtûm*, see n. 6, on l. 1, above. *Hadad-nûrî*, "Hadad is my light," is not elsewhere found, though both component elements are well known.

<sup>2</sup> The number 20 before this line is correct with what we have of this document only on the assumption of Sachau that it is placed before No. 21 "according to the scribe's system." Of this "system" we have no further evidence. More likely the counter's eye skipped Col. I, l. 19, as did that of the translator at least twice. This first number 20 is by all odds the most troublesome of the lot. Cf. Col. III, l. 10, n. 6. Shelemiah (Jer. 36:14, 26; 37:3, 13; 38:1; Ezra 10:39, 41; Neh. 3:30; 13:13). Jashub (Num. 26:24; I Chron. 7:1; Ezra 10:29); Sachau: *Işzb*, wrong. Of the number 2 after š(eqels) part of one stroke is preserved.

<sup>3</sup> *Gdyl*, hardly *Gdôl*, "great," is, perhaps, like other forms (see n. 6, on l. 1, above) an abbreviation, to be read *Gaddûl*, and related to Gedaliah, found both in these texts and in the Old Testament. *Mib-* (or rather *Miv-*) *ṭahiah* is found in APA as a woman's name. One stroke of the numeral 2 after š(eqels) is missing.

<sup>4</sup> *Hşul*, *Haşşûl*, is another hypocoristic name for both men and women in these texts; cf. Hazzelponi (I Chron. 4:3). *Šm*, probably *Shema'iah*, see No. 12, l. 3, n. 3.

<sup>5</sup> The *d* is not quite clear in this name; hardly *m*, Gamul, I Chron. 24:17 (Sachau).

<sup>6</sup> Haggai, see No. 12, l. 3, n. 4; hardly Haggi (Gen. 46:16; Num. 26:15), though abbreviated from Haggiah (I Chron. 6:30).

<sup>7</sup> The *l* may be a remnant of "all, the whole" as in Col. I, ll. 4 and 18.

<sup>8</sup> The last stroke only of the number 2 is preserved.

<sup>9</sup> The remnants are small, but clear. The number of lines at this point is not certain, as the papyrus is completely broken away. There may have been from one to four lines more in Col. II.

## Column III

|    |                   |                                       |       |
|----|-------------------|---------------------------------------|-------|
|    | < 1 >             | Šlm the son of Hūd <sup>1</sup>       | 2;    |
|    | 1                 | Hūrī the son of Ūnh <sup>2</sup>      | 2;    |
|    | 1                 | Shammua <sup>3</sup> the son of Šlm   | 2;    |
|    | 1                 | Mattan the son of Idn <sup>4</sup>    | 2;    |
| 5  | 1                 | .....                                 | 2;    |
|    | 1                 | ‘nn                                   | ;     |
|    | 1                 | Zk                                    | š. 2; |
|    | 1                 | ‘Anani                                | ;     |
|    | 1                 | Hūš. son of Ntūn <sup>5</sup>         | 2;    |
| 10 | 20 <sup>6</sup> 1 | ..... the son of                      | 2;    |
|    |                   | .....                                 | š. 2; |
|    |                   | .....                                 | 2;    |
|    |                   | ..... Išbīh <sup>7</sup>              | ;     |
|    |                   | .....                                 | š. 2; |
| 15 |                   | .....                                 | 2;    |
|    |                   | .....                                 | 2;    |
|    |                   | ..... Hosea (the) s(um of)            | š. 2; |
|    |                   | ..... Ihu <sup>8</sup> (the) s(um of) | ;     |

<sup>1</sup> Shallum (?), Shillem (?) (Gen. 46:24; Num. 26:49). For Hūd<sup>1</sup> see No. 13, l. 3, n. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Huri (I Chron. 5:14). Ūnh, cf. Vaniah (Ezra 10:36); the similarity is the more remarkable because very few words in Hebrew and Aramaic begin with the sound of *w*, which, rather than *v*, correctly represents the original. On the other hand, most of the words in the Old Testament which do so begin are proper names—but nearly all proper names of non-Semitic, or at least non-Hebraic, type.

<sup>3</sup> Num. 13:4; Neh. 11:17 (cf. I Chron. 9:16); 12:18; II Sam. 5:14; I Chron. 14:4 (cf. I Chron. 3:5).

<sup>4</sup> Mattan (*Mtn*) (Jer. 38:1; II Kings 11:18; II Chron. 23:17). Idn . . may be Idnīh, found elsewhere in these documents.

<sup>5</sup> Probably Hosea the son of Nattūn; cf. No. 12, l. 5.

<sup>6</sup> The number 20 here is quite clear, although the papyrus is broken. It corresponds perfectly to other numbers that follow. What is its relation to the number 20 in Col. II, l. 4 (cf. n. 2)? Four additional lines at the end of Col. II (see Col. II, l. 17, n. 9) would make ten persons in Col. II, ll. 12–27, following what may have been a summation in Col. II, l. 11 (cf. n. 7). If a new count was begun at this point, our number 20 would then be correct. But why should a new count have been begun? For further discussion of the relation between the total number of persons listed and the sum total of moneys collected, see Col. VII, l. 3, n. 3.

<sup>7</sup> Joshibiah (I Chron. 4:35).

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Abital (II Sam. 3:4; I Chron. 3:3); Hamutal (II Kings 23:31; 24:18; Jer. 52:1).

20 . . . . . *nni* (the) s(um of) §. 2;  
 . . . . . *šbñh* . . . ;  
 . . . . .

## Column IV

1 Hosea the son of *Sgr* (or *d*)*i* (the) s(um of) §. 2;  
 1 Menahem the son of Mattan (the) s(um of) §. 2;  
 1 *Ntyn* the son of Haggai (the) s(um of) §. 2;  
 1 Haggai the son of Micah<sup>2</sup> (the) s(um of) §. 2;  
 5 1 *Mhsh* the son of Uri<sup>3</sup> (the) s(um of) §. 2;  
 1 Shallum the son of Zechariah<sup>4</sup> (the) s(um of) §. 2;  
 1 Menahem the son of Zechariah (the) s(um of) §. 2;  
 40 1 *Mšlk* the son of Uri (the) s(um of) §. 2;  
 . . . *mt* the son of *Sgr*(or *d*)*i* (the) s(um of) §. 2;  
 10 1 *ʿAnani*(?) the son of *Mʿyzi* (the) s(um of) §. 2;  
 . . . §<sup>c</sup> the son of Menahem (the) s(um of) §. 2;  
 1 . . . the son of Hodia<sup>5</sup> (the) s(um of) §. 2;  
 . . . *hm*(?) the son of Uri the son of *Mšl*. (the) s(um of) §. 2;  
 . . . . .  
 15 . . . . . (the) s(um of) §. 2;  
 . . . . . Mattan(?) (the) s(um of) §. 2;  
 . . . . . <the so>n of Mattan (the) s(um of) §. 2;  
 . . . . . *i*<sup>2</sup> the son of Menahem the son of *Pysi* (the) s(um of)  
 <§.>2;

<sup>1</sup> If *Sgr**i*, then a similar name is found in a Cappadocian bilingual inscription (cf. Lidzbarski, *Eph.*, III, 66). Greek *Σαγδιος*, Aramaic S(a)g(a)r. Persian? And how account for final *-i*? Not, as has been done by comparison with Old Testament Bigvai (Ezra 2:2, 14; 8:14; Neh. 7:7, 19; 10:16), for *v* (i.e., *y*) is as much part of the ending, in this name as is *-i*. A hypocoristic form in *-t* or *-at* seems most probable. Even if *Sgr* be read, an Aramaic compound of *sgr*, "inclose, lock," + *i**h*, Jahweh, of which this would be an abbreviation, is quite possible, though not otherwise known. If *Sgd**i* be read, then what? Certainly not Segadiah, "Jahweh worships." Perhaps Sāgadiah, equivalent to Hebrew, Obadiah, "worshiper of Jahweh."

<sup>2</sup> Here written *Mik*<sup>2</sup>, as in II Sam. 9:12; I Chron. 9:15; Neh. 10:12 (English version: 11), and Neh. 11:17, 22 for Micaiah, Neh. 12:35. The last equation makes it probable that the writing *→* for *-h* is merely the usual Aramaic variant writing of final long *-ā* or *-ah*. Against this the attractive hypothesis that *Mik*<sup>2</sup> might be abbreviated from Michael, but Micah (i.e. *Mikh*) from Micaiah will not hold good. See also Col. II, l. 2, n. 7.

<sup>3</sup> *Mhsh* is an abbreviation, not uncommon in these papyri, of Mahseiah; cf. Col. I, l. 1, n. 7. Uri (Exod. 31:2; 35:30; I Kings 4:19; I Chron. 2:20; Ezra 10:24), abbreviation of Uriah.

<sup>4</sup> II Kings 14:29; 15:8, 11; 18:2; Zech. 1:1, 7; 7:1, 8; Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, *passim*. In this and the following line the name is written *Zkr*<sup>2</sup>; cf. n. 2, above.

<sup>5</sup> See No. 13, l. 3, n. 5, and the passages there referred to; note the variant Hodeiah in Neh. 7:43.

- 1 Hagg<ai>(?) the son of Menahem <the son of *P>u<sub>s</sub>i* (the)  
s(um of) *š*. 2;  
20 1 *Plu<sub>l</sub>i<sup>h</sup>i*<sup>1</sup> the son of . . *š*<sup>c</sup> (the) s(um of) *š*. 2;  
1 *Mn<sup>h</sup>mt* the daughter of *š*. . the son of *š*<sup>si</sup>*h*<sup>2</sup> (the) s(um of) *š*. 2;  
1 Meshullemeth<sup>3</sup> the daughter of . . *h* (the) s(um of) *š*. 2, sister of  
*M<sup>h</sup>tu<sup>š</sup>*<sup>4</sup> . . ;

## Column V

- 1 *M<sup>p</sup>th* the daughter of *T<sup>st</sup>z*(or *u*) (the) s(um of) *š*. 2;  
1 *I<sup>h</sup>u<sup>š</sup>m<sup>s</sup>* the daughter of Nathan (the) s(um of) *š*. 2;  
1 *Š<sup>b</sup>i<sup>š</sup>*<sup>5</sup> the daughter of Huri the son of *Š<sup>l</sup>m* (the) s(um of) *š*. 2;  
1 *R<sup>c</sup>i*<sup>6</sup> the daughter of *N<sup>r</sup>i*<sup>7</sup> (the) s(um of) *š*. 2;  
5 1 *I<sup>h</sup>u<sup>š</sup>m<sup>c</sup>* the daughter of Meshullam (the) s(um of) *š*. 2;  
60 1 *M<sup>p</sup>th* the daughter of *Š<sup>l</sup>m* (the) s(um of) *š*. 2;  
1 *I<sup>h</sup>m<sup>u</sup>l* the daughter of *Pl<sup>i</sup>i*<sup>8</sup> the daughter of *I<sup>u</sup>š*<sup>8</sup> (the) s(um of) *š*. 2;  
1 *š<sup>b</sup>i<sup>h</sup>i*<sup>9</sup> the daughter of *u<sup>š</sup>*<sup>9</sup> (the) s(um of) *š*. 2;

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Col. I, l. 14, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Mn<sup>h</sup>mt*, perhaps Menahemeth, is, of course, feminine of Menahem. The grandfather's name remains unsolved.

<sup>3</sup> II Kings 21:19.

<sup>4</sup> The five letters following the word "sister of" are written together as indicated in the transliteration. It is possible, but by no means certain, that two persons are mentioned: "sister of *M<sup>h</sup>t* and *š* . ."; crowding might account for the lack of a definite space between *M<sup>h</sup>t* and *u<sup>š</sup>*, although the space between "sister of" and what follows is perfectly clear. It is quite possible, however, to read *M<sup>h</sup>u<sup>š</sup>*, whether anything else followed or not as a single name; such a name would be no more astonishing or unintelligible than, e.g., *š<sup>st</sup>h* in the preceding line, and a number of others. The assumption that another giver is here listed in the same line with Meshullemeth, and that we must correct *u<sup>š</sup>* to *kš* (i.e., "the sum of šeqels <2>") is absolutely gratuitous; such a procedure would have destroyed the value of the check marks carefully placed before each individual giver's name, cf. especially Col. I, l. 19, where this mark is inserted after the name of the century.

<sup>5</sup> = "Jahweh has heard," like Shemaiah; for the form, compare Jehosheba (II Kings 11:2).

<sup>6</sup> The masculine names Shobai (Ezra 2:42; Neh. 7:45) and Shobi (II Sam. 17:27) may be compared.

<sup>7</sup> *R<sup>c</sup>i*, comparable to masculine *Re<sup>c</sup>u<sup>a</sup>yah*, found elsewhere in these documents, not in the Old Testament [but cf. Reu (Gen. 11:18-21); Reuel (Gen. 36:4, 10, 13, 17; I Chron. 1:35, 37, etc.)], rather than to Hebrew *ra<sup>c</sup>i<sup>d</sup>*, "beloved" of the Song of Songs. *N<sup>r</sup>i*, cf. Neriah (Jer. 32:12, 16; 36:4, 8, 14, 32; 43:3, 6; 45:1; 51:59). In both cases *d* instead of *r* is at least theoretically possible.

<sup>8</sup> *I<sup>h</sup>m<sup>u</sup>l*, probably *Iah<sup>m</sup>ul*, not *Iah<sup>m</sup>ol*, not otherwise known. *I<sup>u</sup>š*, perhaps abbreviation of Josiah (Zech. 6:10, written *I<sup>u</sup>š<sup>i</sup>h*, and I Kings 13:2; II Kings 21:24, 26; 22:1, 3; 23:16, 28; Jer. 1:2 f., etc., written *I<sup>u</sup>š<sup>i</sup>h<sup>u</sup>*, and Jer. 27:1, written *I<sup>u</sup>š<sup>i</sup>h<sup>u</sup>*).

<sup>9</sup> With *š<sup>b</sup>i<sup>h</sup>i* (Abihi?) a number of Old Testament names may be compared, none of them very satisfactorily; nearest to it is the masculine Abihu (Exod. 6:23; Lev.

- 1 *Nhbt*<sup>1</sup> the daughter of *Mhsh* (the) s(um of) §. 2;  
 10 1 *Ihyhn* the daughter of *Igd*<sup>2</sup> (the) s(um of) §. 2;  
 1 Meshullemeth the daughter of *Šplh*<sup>3</sup> (the) s(um of) §. 2;  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . . *mt* the daughter of . . . . . <2>;  
 . *Nhbt* the daughter of . . . . . §. 2;  
 15 . *Ihmyl* the daughter of . . . . . (the) s(um of) §. 2;  
 70 1(?) *Ihyšm*<sup>c</sup> the daughter of Hosea the son of Zaccur (the) s(um of) §. 2;  
 1 *Ihy*<š><sup>m</sup> the daughter of Haggai (the) s(um of) §. 2;  
 1 <sup>b</sup>*h*<*h*><sup>i</sup> the daughter of *Ntyn* (the) s(um of) §. 2;

## Column VI

- 1 *Ihyhn* the daughter of Gedaliah<sup>4</sup> (the) s(um of) §. 2;  
 1 *Šlyh*<sup>5</sup> the daughter of *Nri* (the) s(um of) §. 2;  
 1 *Ihyll* the daughter of *Islh* (the) s(um of) §. 2;  
 1 <sup>b</sup>*šr* (or *d*) the daughter of Hosea (the) s(um of) §. 2;  
 5 1 *Ihyli* the daughter of <sup>c</sup>*mnih*<sup>6</sup> (the) s(um of) §. 2;  
 1 *Mpth* the daughter of *Šplih* (the) s(um of) §. 2;  
 1 *Nhbt* the daughter of Zaccur (the) s(um of) §. 2;  
 80 1 *Mnhmt* the daughter of *Idnih* the son of <sup>c</sup>*ni*<sup>7</sup> (the) s(um of) §. 2;

10:1, etc.); <sup>b</sup>*u*<sup>š</sup> is a variant of Hosea (*Hu*<sup>š</sup>); the variant <sup>b</sup> for *h* at the beginning of a word is not uncommon, though less frequent than at the end; cf. Col. IV, l. 4, n. 2. The two cases are quite distinct and should not be confused.

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps a variant of *Nhbt* found elsewhere in these documents, and to be read Nôhebeth or Nôheveth, "the beloved," Amanda.

<sup>2</sup> *Ihyhn*, not elsewhere found in this precise form, but very probably a feminine form or usage of Jehohanan (Ezra 10:6; Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, *passim*) = Johanan (II Kings 25:23, etc.), in hypocoristic abbreviation; cf. English, John and Joanna, Joan. *Igd* is likewise abbreviated, probably from Igdliah (Jer. 35:4).

<sup>3</sup> Is this and *Šplih*, Col. VI, l. 6, a mere phonetic variant of Zephaniah, Col. I, l. 6, n. 4?

<sup>4</sup> Jer. 38:1; 40:5 f., 8; 41:1-18; II Kings 25:22; Zeph. 1:1; I Chron. 25:3, 9; Ezra 10:18.

<sup>5</sup> The same name with slightly different spelling occurs elsewhere in these papyri. Perhaps one may compare Sallû and its variant spelling, Sallu<sup>o</sup> (I Chron. 9:7; Neh. 11:7; 12:7; cf. vs. 20, Sallai), or Salu (Num. 25:14).

<sup>6</sup> Perhaps Immanujah, "with us is Jahweh," an interesting variant of Immanuel, Isa. 7:14; 8:8.

<sup>7</sup> This name is not found elsewhere. But the name of the goddess Anath, identified on Phoenician inscriptions with the Greek Athene, is found in two composite divine names in these documents, one of them, <sup>c</sup>Anath-bethel, in this papyrus, Col. VII, l. 6. In the Old Testament, Anath, father of Shamgar (Judg. 3:31; 5:6); Anathoth (I Chron. 7:8; Neh. 10:19), and the village of Anathoth (Jer. 1:1 and elsewhere),

- 1 Meshullam the son of *M<sup>c</sup>u<sup>z</sup>i* (the) s(um of) §. 2;  
 10 1 Meshullemeth the daughter of *Pnyli<sup>h</sup>* (the) s(um of) §. 2;  
 1 *Ntyn* the son of Pelaliah<sup>1</sup> the son of *Ntyn* (the) s(um of) §. 2;  
 1 *Hšy<sup>l</sup>* the daughter of *H<sup>y</sup>du<sup>y</sup>i<sup>h</sup>* (the) s(um of) §. 2;  
 1 . . . . . Nathan(?) (the) s(um of) . . . . .;  
 1 . . . . . *pn<sup>i</sup>h* . . . . . (the) s(um of) §. 2;  
 15 1 . . . . the son of Nathan the son of . . . . . *h* (the) s(um of) §. 2;  
 1 . . . . the son of *Šlm* the s<on of> . . . . (the) s(um of) §. 2;  
 1 <*lh*>*u<sup>š</sup>m<sup>c</sup>* the daughter of *Qyn* (the) s(um of) §. 2;  
 20 1 *R<sup>c</sup>y<sup>i</sup>h* the son of ʾUri (the) s(um of) §. 2;  
 1 Meshullam the son of Shemaiah (the) s(um of) §. 2.

### Column VII

The money which was on hand that day in the hand of<sup>2</sup>

*Idni<sup>h</sup>* the Son of Gemariah in the month of *Pmnh<sup>tp</sup>*:

The sum of *krš* 31, shekels 8;<sup>3</sup>

may be compared. The personal names in all these cases are without much doubt abbreviations of compounds whose first element is the name of the goddess Anath. With *nti<sup>h</sup>y*, used in an oath in another document, the unabbreviated name Anthothijah (I Chron. 8:24) should be compared.

<sup>1</sup> The name is here written in conformity with the Old Testament spelling; cf. No. 13, l. 3, n. 8; but see Col. I, l. 14, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Superscription. The translation is an attempt to transfer into English an original of whose precise meaning we cannot be sure. The term "was on hand" seemed colorless enough to express all we can be fairly sure of and renders perfectly one of the meanings of the Aramaic word. "In the hand of" is a literal translation. Another possible rendering would be: "This is the money (*or* sum) which was raised by *Idni<sup>h</sup>*"; but *Idni<sup>h</sup>* seems too important a man to have done much of this collecting personally; cf. introduction to No. 5. It is through *Idni<sup>h</sup>*, moreover, that we can be quite certain of the date in the superscription. The year 5 must be the fifth year of Darius II, which with the Egyptian month would be 420-419 B.C.; cf. "Chronological Notes from the Aramaic Papyri," *AJSL*, XXVII (April, 1911), 258. Phamenoth would be very nearly our June (*ibid.*, pp. 235-37), i.e., June, 419.

<sup>3</sup> The sum total here given, 1 *krš*=10 shekels, would be 318 shekels. The total of names up to this point, as far as we can be relatively certain of them from the papyrus as we have it, is 114; quite probably we must add four more; cf. Col. II, l. 17, n. 9; Col. III, l. 10, n. 6. At the rate of two shekels per person this would give us but 228 or 236 shekels. And even if we add the ten names which follow in Cols. VII and VIII, we would still have but 248 or 256 shekels. How the deficit is to be made up we cannot be sure. The least probable hypothesis to the translator's mind is that of the original editor, Sachau, followed by the German translator, Staerk. There is no good ground for supposing that before Col. I enough names were lost to make up the deficiency; the superscription pretty clearly marks the beginning of the list. The limitation of the superscription to Jahweh, whereas after the summing up he must divide with others (ll. 5 f.), does not help us in the sum total, though it may bear upon another difficulty; cf. the following note. There is a possibility that between

Cols. II and III, where the break was complete and the joint established is very small, or between what is now Cols. III and IV, where there is a complete break with no close joint whatever, the necessary thirty to forty-five names are missing; but considering the expertness and painstaking conscientiousness of Ibscher in fitting together papyrus shreds by the fiber, the probability of such an error in the original edition is very small. Is it necessary to assume that more names are missing than have been indicated in the notes and text above? This is not an extraordinary collection of voluntary donations; the fixed sum of two shekels precludes this. It can hardly be a collection for the rebuilding of the temple (see No. 8), as the temple was not demolished until nearly ten years later, if our date above be correct; besides the gifts are inadequate for this purpose. The whole looks very like an annual temple tax such as obtained in Judea also at this time and later (Neh. 10:32; Exod. 30:11-16; II Chron. 24:6; Matt. 17:24). If two shekels in Egypt seem excessive as against the  $\frac{1}{3}$ , later  $\frac{1}{2}$  shekel of Judea, it must be remembered that "shekel" may mean very different things. If in Jesus' time the didrachmon or didrachma represented the half-shekel of the temple tax, there is evidence that Aramaic-writing people in Egypt probably in Ptolemaic times, some of whom bear Jewish names like Samuel, Abram, Nathan, Abiathar, called a single drachme a shekel (Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, II, 244 ff.), which makes 2 shekels exactly = 1 didrachmon. Moreover, for the time of our papyri, No. 14, ll. 4 f., makes it certain that 2 shekels (@ 5.6 grams, *στέγλος Μηδικός*) = 1 stater (Persian, @ 11.2 grams), i.e., the later didrachmon; while shekels coined in Palestine in the second century B.C. were in weight and value very nearly equal to the Attic tetradrachmon (Josephus, *Ant.*, III, viii, 2, controlled by weighing extant specimens). If, therefore, the Judean temple tax, fixed some time between Neh. 10:32 ( $\frac{1}{3}$  shekel) and Matt. 17:24; Josephus, *BJ*, VII, vii, 6, amounted to a didrachmon =  $\frac{1}{2}$  shekel, the weight and value of this Palestinian half-shekel was very nearly that of two shekels of these papyri. This makes it very probable, indeed, that we have to do here with a fixed, annual contribution to the temple revenue. In this case, however, the sum total need not represent merely the amount of contributions listed up to that point; much less need this total include the following names, tardy payers, who came in and were listed at a later date, probably in several detachments and by various hands (see Introduction, and Col. VII, ll. 7 ff.; Col. VIII, with notes). *Idnih* simply sums up the cash on hand in the temple treasury, including the balance of the previous year with the sum of the present year's contributions up to Phamenoth 3, 419. The most natural rendering of Col. VII, l. 1, supports this view (cf. n. 2). Moreover, this rendering and the reckoning based upon it will hold good, whether the temple-tax theory just developed stand the test of time or not. Whatever the payments and their purpose, the list up to the summation at this point represents payments made on or before Phamenoth 3, 419 B.C., the sum represents these plus cash on hand from previous contributions, the following names represent later contributions not included in any sum total until the next balancing of accounts. If the temple-revenue theory be right, it is interesting to notice that the payment and the closing of accounts fell in Egypt late in the fifth century B.C. in June, in the middle of the solar year, whereas in Palestine at a later date proclamation was made on the first of Adar and payment was due from the fifteenth (in the country) to the twenty-fifth (in the temple itself) of the same month, i.e., in March (Mishnah, *Seqaltm* 1:1, 3; chaps. 6 and 7, also, are interesting laws, in case the tax of one person was paid by another), i.e., at the close of the ecclesiastical year.

- 5                    Therein to *lhy k.* 12, §. 6;  
                      to *šmbiḫl Krš* 7;  
                      to *šmbiḫl* the sum of *krš* 12.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is very surprising to find that moneys given to or for Jahweh are now divided between him and others; Jahweh, in fact, receives less than half of the whole sum, and but little more than one of the Bethels who share with him:

|               |                         |                 |
|---------------|-------------------------|-----------------|
| Jahweh        | §. 126 (should be 128?) | } §. 190 (192?) |
| <i>šmbiḫl</i> | §. 70                   |                 |
| Anathbethel   | §. 120 (possibly 122)   |                 |

Before proceeding further two points deserve mention. The total of the divided sums, §. 316, lacks two shekels of the sum total, §. 318. Did two shekels go to the scribe? Was it a lapse of the pen by homoioteleuton after the portion of Anathbethel, *krš* 12, written XII, and 2, written II? Or was it caused by a forgotten transfer of two shekels from one of the Bethel funds to the general Jahweh fund, or vice versa, to even up the *krš* in the Bethel funds? This last query was suggested to the translator by a re-examination of the mysterious *lh*, Col. I, l. 5, n. 3. Col. I, ll. 5-10, and Col. II, ll. 1-5 and 7-10, 15 names in all clearly show this addition. It is not found before nor after these points except in Col. VIII (on which see n. 2). But between Col. I, ll. 10 and 19, lie 8 names and between Col. II, ll. 5 and 7, one in which the end of the line is missing; it is possible that these 9 names, too, had after them the same *lh*, making 24 in all. Deducting these 24 from a total of 118 leaves 94 persons, 188 shekels; a mistake of one person in our count or a transfer of two shekels from the Jahweh fund would make for the Bethels 190, for Jahweh 46. This is the result arrived at on the assumption that *lh*, "for him," means contributions specifically designated for the Jahweh fund. In adding the 46 to last year's balance, the final 6 of 46 may have caused the error 126 for 128, aided by the fact that the two units of Jahweh's 12 *krš* with the 6 of the shekels make 8 strokes together. The translator is fully aware of the weakness of this suggestion: 188 is not 190, and the division between the Bethels is not indicated by another mark like *lh*. Yet some means of regulating the division *lḏnīh* must have had; and if the proportion 12:7, both holy numbers, served for the Bethels, no like principle seems to serve for Jahweh's proportion, although 126 may stand in preference to 128 because of its divisibility by 3. In the main, the more general Jahweh fund may have received the bulk made up of balance plus specially designated contributions, while the others were regulated by the foregoing proportion. This is, of course, only a possibility, no more. Perhaps, however, it is significant that in the absolutely certain *lh*-names no woman's name is found; cf. Col. I, l. 5, n. 3; l. 19, n. 5; Col. VIII, l. 1, n. 6, and No. 1, l. 6, n. 1, which may need correction, i.e., the century may, after all, be a military unit. Now who are Jahweh's consorts and what is their relation to him? Jahweh is superior to the others, he appears to be the supreme God: the temple is his (Nos. 8 and 12), he alone is mentioned in the superscription, his name is first in the division, the priests are priests of Jahweh (No. 11), the altar and service are his (No. 8), he is "the God and Lord of heaven" (Nos. 8 and 9). But after all, not only in the life and speech of the people, but even in the very cult, probably the cult of the Jahweh temple itself, Jahweh is not absolutely alone. The Ba'als and Ashtartes, indeed, whom the old prophets had so fiercely denounced, are nowhere found in the Jewish colony; only on the jars of Phoenician wine-dealers does Ba'al appear. But more than a half-dozen

- 1 Micaiah the son of *Ihyiśm*<sup>c</sup> (the) s(um of) š. 2;  
 1 ʔuś<sup>c</sup> the son of Nathan the son of *Hudyih* (the) s(um of) š. 2;  
 1 ʔhiy<sup>2</sup> the son of Nathan the son of ʿAnani (the) s(um of) š. 2;

Aramaic gods or Aramaized Assyrian gods play some part in the documents. Hadad, Nebo, Nusku, Atthar, and ʿAte (in the form ʔ, before ʿidri, No. 1, l. 20), as well as Haran (Harmān?), ʔśm, ʿAnath, and Bethel are found in proper names. Not only is Khnum recognized as a god, as well as Jahweh, even though his priests be stigmatized (No. 8), not only does a Jewess, named after Jahweh, upon occasion swear by a local Egyptian goddess Satis (*APA* F), but a plurality of gods is called upon for blessing in the greeting (Nos. 3, 10; cf. No. 4, and in several fragmentary private letters), oath is taken by Haram-bethel (perhaps designated as “our god”), and probably also by ʿAnathihy (who may be identical with the ʿAnath of the Bethel here) and the *msgd*, “place,” or “object of worship” (i.e., temple, altar, or Bethel-stone); cf. No. 1, l. 6, n. 2. And if all this be popular, here is a document representing the official religion, in which two Bethels, remnants of fetishism, or two inhabitants of a Bethel, share the cult moneys, and probably also a place in the temple and service of the cult, with Jahweh. Such pillars and paraphernalia were not in the temple of Zerubbabel, Haggai, and Zechariah, but they were found in the Solomonic temple; cf., e.g., I Kings 7:15-22; Jer. 52:17-23; II Kings 18:4 (cf. Col. I, l. 3, n. 1). And however much the service of these Bethels and their inhabitants was merged with the service of Jahweh, as is that of the saints today with the supreme Deity conceived as one; however unclear the ideas of these people as to the difference and relation between these minor deities and their great divinity (they had no Mohammed to corner them into a statement about Allah’s daughters), they can hardly have been quite unaware of their true nature. The warlike and severe ʿAnath, whose riding-beast was the lion, was well enough known in the Hellenistic world a century later (cf. Col. VI, l. 8, n. 7). And if ʔśm was until recently much less well known than his relatives Eshmūn and the female Ashima (II Kings 17:30; cf. Amos 8:14, “the sin [ʔaśmath] of Samaria”), whom Latin inscriptions of our era identify with Juno, Greek ones with Athena, Jupiter’s daughter, and whom Pseudo-Melito still knows as Hadad’s daughter, yet he too, with a *συμβέτυλος*, perhaps our very ʔśmbethel, is still honored with a Greek inscription in North Syria in 223 A.D. (Lidzbarski, *Ephem.*, III, 260 ff. and literature there referred to). As Bethel is a god’s house or dwelling-place, ultimately deified (cf. No. 1, l. 6, n. 2), and *Hrm* is the divine sanctity and inviolability localized and then personified, so ʔśm may be the divine name personified, though these Jews probably did not recognize this fact. The name ʔśmrām, elsewhere in these papyri, indicates that to them ʔśm was masculine; or is the Babylonian Išum there (No. 22, l. 6, n. 8) to be distinguished from an Aramaic ʔśm, perhaps female, here?

1 “Jahweh hears,” the only name of this form, *Ihy* followed by an imperfect, in these papyri; like its congener, the feminine *Ihyśm*<sup>c</sup>, it is not found in the Old Testament. Similar forms in the Bible are Jehoiakim, Jehoiachin, and Jehoiarib, none of them earlier than Jeremiah. Between ll. 6 and 7 the space of about two lines is left blank. On the handwriting of these lines, see the introductory statement to this document.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. No. 13, l. 5, n. 5; the *h* there should have a dot under it.

- 10 I 'Azariah<sup>1</sup> the son of *Hšyḷ* (the) s(um of) š. 2;  
 I Isaiah the son of Berechi<ah<sup>2</sup> (the) s(um of) > š. 2;  
 . . . . . 2;  
 I . . . . . the daughter of *Kī* . . . <sup>3</sup> (the) s(um of) š. 2;<sup>4</sup>

## Column VIII

- I *Bgprn* the son of *Ūšhīš* (the) s(um of) š. 2 *l?nr*(or *d*)*m*,<sup>6</sup>  
 I *Uḥšī* the son of *Zr*(or *d*)*mr*(or *d*) (the) s(um of) š. 2 *lh*,<sup>7</sup>  
 I Haggai the son of *Mptḥīk*<sup>8</sup> (the) s(um of) š. 2 *lḥ* . . .

<sup>1</sup> I Kings 4:2, 5; II Kings 14:21; 15: *passim*; Jer. 43:2; Dan. 1: *passim*; 2:17, and frequently in Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah.

<sup>2</sup> Neither name is absolutely certain. Isaiah (cf. Isa. 1:1 and *passim*; II Kings 19:20 ff.; II Chron. 26:22; 32:20, 32; Ecclus. 48:20; written Jeshaiah, I Chron. 3:21; 25:3, 15; 26:25; Ezra 8:7, 19; Neh. 11:7). Berechi<ah>, thus, certainly not as Sachau and Ungnad read, *Bnī* (Zech. 1:1, 7; I Chron. 3:20; 6:39; 9:16; 15:17, 23; II Chron. 28:12; Neh. 3:4, 30; 6:18).

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps Chidon (I Chron. 13:9; cf. II Sam. 6:6).

<sup>4</sup> Below l. 14 a space corresponding to five lines in the adjoining Col. VI is left blank. Col. VIII follows on the back of the papyrus with not more than three names, again queerly spaced; cf. the following notes. For a probable explanation of this spacing see l. 7, n. 1, above, and the introductory statement on the handwriting.

<sup>5</sup> *Bgprn*, Megaphernes, cf. No. 6, l. 6, n. 2. *Ūšhī*, probably also Persian or Iranian; cf. names like Vashti (Esther, chaps. 1 and 2), and Vashni (I Chron. 6:28 [American Revised Version, n. 13]).

<sup>6</sup> In ll. 1 and 3 of Col. VIII the place of *h* after *l* is taken by a longer word, in both cases probably a proper name. Unfortunately both cases offer difficulties in the reading. The name in l. 1 ends in *rm* (*rām*?) or *dm*; this is preceded by a not uncommon form of *n*; the sign between *n* and *l* is clear enough, but is not found just so elsewhere; it may be a miswritten *ḥ*, a miswritten *š*, ligature of *š*, ligature of *šī*; both the second and last reading offer *Sin-rām* or *Sndm*, perhaps Aramaization or misspelling of *Sin-iddinam*, as possibilities; *ḥšmrm*, however tempting, is hardly probable; the other readings offer no intelligible solution. In line 3 *lḥ* may be the beginning of *Tabeel* (Isa. 7:6; Ezra 4:7) or *Tobiah* or the like. This rather makes against the explanation of *lh*, mentioned, Col. VII, l. 6, n. 1. It is, however, by no means certain that the two words discussed are proper names; they may be other cult objects, parts of the service, or something quite different from any of these suggestions. Yet the similarity of the *Sndm*, here suggested, with *Sndn*, Col. I, l. 18 (cf. n. 2), is striking; for the most part, *lh* follows a line mentioning a "century," by name, and in the last analysis seems most probably to mean "belonging to the same (century);" cf. Col. I, l. 5, n. 3; l. 19 n. 5.

<sup>7</sup> A space of four or five lines between this and the next line is blank, partly by reason of poor erasure of the underlying Demotic writing. If, however, no space at all had been desired, l. 3 might very well have been written directly under l. 2.

<sup>8</sup> *Mipḥṭāḥiah*, a common phonetic variant for *Mivṭāḥiah*, Col. II, l. 5, n. 3.

## NO. 16. NAME LIST. PURPOSE UNKNOWN

This list is of little importance in itself. It is probably a generation or so earlier than No. 15, as the handwriting and the names (cf. especially l. 7, n. 5) seem to indicate. It is placed after No. 15 because of its lesser importance and the lack of any dating, but before the more important No. 17, both because it is probably earlier, and so as not to separate it from its relative, perhaps very near, No. 15. *APE* Pap. 17 (P. 13484).

- Haggai the son of *Ntyn*,<sup>1</sup>  
*Hrmn* the son of *ʿuš*,<sup>2</sup>  
*ʿuš* the son of *Itym*,<sup>3</sup>  
*ʿuš* the son of *Hudū*,<sup>4</sup>  
5 *Šmy* the son of Haggai;  
Nathan the son of Neriah;  
Menahem the son of *Pusi*,<sup>5</sup>  
*Iʿuš* the son of Azaniah,<sup>6</sup>  
*Bilʿqb* the son of ʿAner,<sup>7</sup>  
10 Total of 9 men.

## NO. 17. NAME LIST WITH ACCOUNT (OF RATIONS FURNISHED TO A PART OF THE SYENNESE ARMY?)

This is another important document for the secular history of the community at Elephantine. It compares with No. 15 as does No. 7 with No. 8. Very fragmentary, and with much still unclear and in debate, as the text and notes will show, in what little is clear it offers valuable information on administrative affairs (cf. No. 3, l. 1, n. 4; No. 5, l. 12, n. 6), and fascinating problems in its very uncertainties. The names in Col. I are for the most part non-Jewish

<sup>1</sup> Cf. No. 15, Col. IV, l. 3; but see also No. 13, l. 5; cf. No. 15, Col. III, l. 9, and No. 12, l. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. No. 15, Col. I, l. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. No. 15, Col. VII, l. 8.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. No. 12, l. 4; No. 13, l. 5.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. No. 15, Col. IV, ll. 17, 18.

<sup>6</sup> Neh. 10:9. This and its congener Jaazaniah, found elsewhere in these papyri, and in Jer. 35:3; II Kings 25:23 (cf. Jer. 40:8; 42:1, Jezaniah); Ezek. 8:11; 11:1, present earlier forms of the name *Idniḥ*, *Iʿdniḥ* (cf. No. 11, l. 17, n. 11; according to the vocalization of the received Massoretic text to be read Jedaniah and Jaadaniah, respectively).

<sup>7</sup> Not *ʿzr*, as Sachau and Ungnad read. ʿAner (Gen. 14:13, 24; I Chron. 6:70). *ʿzr*, pronounced Ezer or Azzur, occurs a number of times in Jeremiah, Ezekiel, I Chronicles, and Nehemiah.

in type as are those of No. 3 and of several other lists to be offered later. We may thus have to do with the rationing of a non-Jewish portion of the Persian (or Egyptian?) army at Elephantine (cf. Nos. 1 and 2).

Of course the value of this observation, slight as it is, would be reduced to almost nil, if it should turn out—as is possible, but hardly probable—that Col. I does not belong here.

For the rest, e.g., a possible date, see the footnotes. *APE* Pap. 19 (P. 13479).

*Column I*

. . . . . *šm.*    *š*<sup>21</sup> 1  
*š* *Zb**k* . . . . . <so>n of *Nbušlū*<sup>2</sup> *š*, 1  
*š* *H**p**i* <so>n of *šm*<sup>3</sup>*i*.<sup>3</sup>    *š*<sup>2</sup> 1

<sup>1</sup> Like No. 15, this document, a statement or account of some sort, is full of abbreviations. The first of these to occur in the extant text is *š*. Least probable and least consistent within themselves are the suggestions of Sachau: *š* = Babylonian *še-u* (corresponding to Hebrew *šəʾā*, Gen. 18:6, etc.); *š* (before each line in Col. I) = shekel; *k* (before Col. I, ll. 7 and 16) = *keseš*, "silver, the sum of"; *g* and *h* (Col. III, l. 9) = *gerah* (Exod. 30:13, etc.) and *hallūr* (*APA*, *passim*). Of these suggestions only the last two have any verisimilitude, as will appear presently. The end of Col. II and Col. III suggest that we have to do with a statement on the disbursement of rations to the Syennese army or garrison (cf. Nos. 1 and 2). Eduard Meyer believes that *š* = sheep, and that we have to do with meat rations, 100 sheep being divided between 54 persons, 2 receiving each 1½ sheep, 22 each 1, and 30 each 2½ (cf. Col. II, ll. 9-14). In this case *š* might be the relative pronoun *šē*, used in the sense of "portion of *x* sheep *y*"; *k* is left unexplained, except as a mark of the two, who receive each 1½. We have, however, no other evidence of provender payments in meat rations, and such largesse of flesh would hardly accord with either modern oriental usage or what is known of the rationing of ancient armies, especially in the East; but cf. Exod. 16:3. Comparing Nos. 1 and 2 and a document to be presented later, *APE* No. 36, in which a soldier agrees to pay from his wages 1 qab of barley monthly, much the most probable suggestion is that of Lidzbarski (*Ephem.*, III, 252, end of p. 251, n. 2), that *š* = *šrm*, "barley," the genus, and *ʾadb*, artabae, the measure (cf. *k* = *keseš*, "silver, the sum of," *š* = shekels in No. 15). In this case the *š* before each name might very well stand for the same thing: "the barley of *x*"; *k* to be explained, as above noted, as a mark of rank or station, entitling to a larger ration of 1½ artabae, the exact rank or title being

[Note 1 continued on p. 365]

<sup>2</sup> Cf. No. 1, l. 8, n. 4. *Zb**k* . . . , the following sign looks like an *s*, in which case the uncertain Babylonian *Za-bi-si* (*CIS*, II, 67) may be compared. The names in this document have in general a very non-Jewish appearance in marked contrast with, e.g., Nos. 15, 16, 19, 20.

<sup>3</sup> *šm*<sup>3</sup>*i*, neither the *i* nor the existence of another letter quite certain, may be Shemaiah or an abbreviation (II Sam. 16:5, etc.) *H**p**i* reminds of Huppim (Gen. 46:21; I Chron. 7:12, 15), Hupham (Num. 26:39), and Huppah (I Chron. 24:13).

|    |    |   |   |
|----|----|---|---|
|    | š  | šm <sup>1</sup> . . . . .   | I   |
| 5  | š  | Pš <sub>i</sub> son of H(?)r <sub>u</sub> s <sup>2</sup> š <sup>3</sup> I |   |
|    | š/ | Šh <sup>3</sup> son of Hur . . . . .                                      | l. š <sup>3</sup> I h <sub>u</sub> <sup>3</sup> |
|    | k  | š/(?) Šm . . . . .  | š <sup>3</sup> I r <sup>4</sup> 2               |
|    | š  | . . . . .   |   |
|    | š  | . . . . .   |   |
| 10 | š/ | . . . . . šh . . . . .  | 2(?) <sup>5</sup>                               |
|    | š  | . . . . . ntn š <sup>3</sup> > I  |   |
|    | š  | . . . . . son of Hlq <sub>i</sub> . <sup>6</sup> <š <sup>3</sup> > I      |   |
|    | š  | . . . . . <so>n of Nurš <sub>u</sub> s <sup>7</sup> š <sup>3</sup> I      |   |
|    | š  | Š(?) . gr(or d) <sub>i</sub> son of Blbn(?) <sup>8</sup> š <sup>3</sup> I |   |
| 15 | š  | Ur (or d) son of Zuti <sup>9</sup>  |   |

unknown. The *g* (gerah,  $\frac{1}{40}$  shekel) and *h* (*hallur*  $\frac{1}{10}$  or  $\frac{1}{20}$  shekel) of Col. III, l. 9, seem to be too small to have any reference to the distribution of barley and are units of weight like the shekel, not of measure like the artaba; yet note No. 1, l. 7: "for each man barley, artabae 2, g. 2 . . ."; *hallur* occurs elsewhere only in connection with shekels as a unit of money values. If Col. III, l. 9, refers to money values, two possibilities are open: the rather large sum mentioned may refer to the payment for the rations purchased; or, since a soldier received in wages money (*APA* L) as well as rations, the money payment may there be summed up as were the rations, Col. II, *fin*. If *h* and *g* be grain measures the large number (anywhere from 152-952) preceding indicates a total of weight, all the rations purchased, or those delivered from some town (*Nb*, Thebes, Col. III, l. 4) or district (*Tšrs*, l. 7).

<sup>1</sup> Looks like a compound with the god šm; cf. No. 15, Col. VII, l. 6, n. 7, and Index of Proper Names; Eshmun is also possible.

<sup>2</sup> Pš<sub>i</sub> probably Petisis, Egyptian. *Hr<sub>u</sub>s*, cf. No. 3, l. 6, n. 4, another document of non-Jewish appearance.

<sup>3</sup> With the names of this line compare those in No. 5. For *h<sub>u</sub>*, see No. 15, Col. I, l. 5, n. 3. The curious stroke after š here, l. 10, and perhaps also l. 7, looks very like the check marks of No. 15.

<sup>4</sup> *r* (or *d*), frequent in *APA*, designates in many places a unit of weight smaller than the shekel. It has been a matter of debate whether it means *rb*<sup>6</sup>,  $\frac{1}{4}$ , or "a fourer," i.e., 4 gerah =  $\frac{1}{10}$  shekel. Col. II, l. 10, below, where two persons, probably the two designated by prefixed *k* in this line and l. 16, receiving each š<sup>3</sup> I r 2, receive together š<sup>3</sup> 3, proves almost beyond a doubt that here  $\frac{1}{4}$ , "two fourths," are meant.

<sup>5</sup> This 2 is very uncertain; may be *h<sub>u</sub>* as in l. 6, or something else.

<sup>6</sup> *Helkai* (Neh. 12:15) or the full name *Hilkiah* (Isa. 22:20; 36:3, 22; II Kings 18:26 f.; Jer. 1:1; 29:3; I Chron. 6:45; 26:11; Neh. 8:4; 12:7, 21) are possibilities, especially as this name occurs elsewhere in these name lists.

<sup>7</sup> *Nurš<sub>u</sub>s*, a common phonetic variant in Babylonian of *Nār-Šamaš*.

<sup>8</sup> Perhaps Babylonian *Šamaš-girija* and *Bēl-bāni*.

<sup>9</sup> Why is the "š<sup>3</sup> I" omitted? Does he with the following "*H<sub>u</sub>* . . ." etc., receive only š<sup>3</sup> I r 2 together?

k § *Hu* . . . . . son of *I<sup>c</sup>u<sup>l</sup>u* (or *n*) § 1 r 2  
 § . . . . . son of *ri<sup>i</sup> hu* § 1  
 § . . . . . *Phr.* § 1

## Column II

. . . . . *gu* . . . . . *pb<sub>i</sub>* § 1 *hu*  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . . 100  
 . . . . . *n* . . . . . § 1  
 5 . . . . . § . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . . son of *tn<sup>n</sup>* § 1  
 . . . . . *nkl* son of . . . . . *d* (or *r*)<sub>i</sub> § 1

(Between ll. 8 and 9 the space of a line is left blank in the original.)  
 every soul (i.e., altogether) 54 wherein (or whereof)

10 . . to (each ?) one § 1 r 2 = (?) § 3 (?)<sup>2</sup>  
 . . 22 (+ ?) to (each ?) one § 1 = (?) § 22  
 soul<sup>3</sup> 30 to (each ?) one § . . . . . § 75.  
 . . . . . total disbursement . . . . .  
 . . . . . § 1 100<sup>4</sup>

## Column III

total disburse < ment > . . . . . < gi > ven to the Syennese<sup>5</sup>  
 army . . . . .  
 i.e., d < ay > . . . . . < Me > hir, year 4,<sup>6</sup> unto day . . . . .

<sup>1</sup> Ari, abbreviated from *ṢAriay*, "lion of Jahweh" (Samaritan Ostraca)? Or abbreviation of Uriah? Or *Ṣdi*; cf. Babylonian *Addija*, etc.?

<sup>2</sup> It is possible from the photographic reprint to read 4 or some other number preceded by 10. Eduard Meyer and others are sure of 3 from the original. As 3 fits the sum total of persons and § excellently (cf. Col. I, l. 1, n. 1; l. 7, n. 4), it carries probability very near to the boundary of certainty.

<sup>3</sup> I.e., of course, person, individual; 2½ or some other form of 2½ may be supplied after the first § in this line with nearly the same certainty ascribed to the reading "3" for l. 10 in n. 1, above.

<sup>4</sup> I.e., one hundred, the number of hundreds being indicated, not as in the case of the twenties by a repetition of the numeral, but by single strokes up to nine placed before the numeral 100; see below, Col. III, ll. 6 and 11. 1,000 is written in this document as elsewhere, though a tear in the papyrus does not permit us to say whether abbreviated, *lp*, or in full, *Ṣlp, Ṣelef*, Col. III, l. 11.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. No. 12, l. 6, n. 5.

<sup>6</sup> What year 4 is meant, that of Darius II, or of Amyrtaeus (cf. No. 14), or still another, it is impossible to say. To the translator by reason of the few names of Jewish appearance, Amyrtaeus appears at least as probable as any other; cf. Nos. 13 and 14.

- 20 to(?)*m* . . . . . which was given in provisions (?) . . .  
 brought(?) . . . . . city of Nô<sup>2</sup> by *Unpr*.<sup>1</sup> . . . . .
- 5 . . . . . son of <sup>2</sup>*h* and <sup>2</sup>*drî*<sup>2</sup> son of <sup>2</sup>. . . . .  
 . . . thousand(?) 4 100 (i.e., 400) 46 (i.e. in our Arabic numeral  
 writing 1(?)446) g 2 h 4(+?) . . .
- (The space of about two lines is left blank between ll. 6 and 7 in the original.)  
 And of (or from) grain(?) . . . . . <T>*šîrs pîp*<sup>3</sup> which he(?) gave  
 to the a<rmy>(?) . . . . .  
 from (or of) <sup>2</sup>*lyn* 2(+?) . . . . . 5(+?)  
 . . . . . 152 g 1 h . . . . .
- (Again the space of a line or two is left blank.)
- 10 And (that) which . . . . . was given *pt* . . . to the army . .  
*tš* . . . . . <thou> sand<sup>4</sup> 4(+, perhaps 6) 100 90 (i.e., 1490 or  
 1690+).
- (The space of a line appears to be blank.)  
 . . . . . M(?)*ehîr* yea<r> . . . . .  
 . . . . . and from (or of) . . . . .  
 . . . . . 76 (+, perhaps 197) . . . . .

Five or six small fragments perhaps belonging to the foregoing  
 add nothing new. Only disconnected words are legible: "to the  
 army . . . he brought . . . was given . . . city of Nô<sup>2</sup>  
 . . . *Šh*<sup>2</sup> son of . . ." etc.

## NO. 18. NAME LIST

Remnants of two columns, only a shred of the second preserved.  
 The intermingling of Egyptian names with Jewish is worthy of  
 note. *APE* Pap. 20 (P. 13487).

## Column I

- <sup>2</sup>*hiu* the son of Nathan<sup>5</sup> . . .  
 Nathan the son of *M<sup>c</sup>uzîh* . . .  
*Hur* the son of . . . h . . .  
*Mhsh* the son of *Ihul* . . .  
 5 Hanan the son of *Phnm*<sup>6</sup> . .

<sup>1</sup> Probably an Egyptian name.

<sup>2</sup> Abbreviation of some name like Adriel (I Sam. 18:19; II Sam. 21:8).

<sup>3</sup> Probably an abbreviation in soldiers' slang of *ptîprs*; cf. No. 11, l. 3, n. 2; the  
 meaning is in all probability "pay in rations," wages paid in rations.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Col. II, l. 14, n. 4.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. No. 31 = *APA* J 19.

<sup>6</sup> Hanan (I Chron. 8:23, 38; 9:44; 11:43; Ezra 2:46; Neh. 7:49; 8:7; 10:10,  
 22, 26; 13:13); *Pa-Khnûm* is Egyptian.

|    |  |             |
|----|--|-------------|
|    | Shallum the son of <i>H</i> . . .                              |             |
|    | <i>Plîî</i> the son of Mattan <sup>1</sup> . . .               |             |
| 10 | <i>Kšî</i> the son of <i>ʿzyr</i> <sup>2</sup>                 |             |
|    | <i>Pîhnm</i> the son of <i>Ḥrî</i> <sup>3</sup>                |             |
| 10 | <i>Rʿyîh</i> <sup>4</sup> the son of Zechariah                 | 10 5. . . . |
|    | Menahem the son of Mattan                                      |             |
|    | <i>Pḥnm</i> the son of Zaccur                                  |             |
|    | Haggai the son of Micaiah                                      |             |
|    | <i>Ūîdî</i> <sup>5</sup> the son of Uri the son of <i>Mḥsh</i> |             |
| 15 | <i>Šy</i> <sup>7</sup> the son of Zechariah                    |             |

## NO. 19. NAME LIST

Another fragment containing names largely of Jewish type.  
*APE* Pap. 21 (P. 13486):

|    |  |  |
|----|--|--|
|    | . . . . .  |  |
|    | <i>Bʿdîh</i> <sup>8</sup> the son of . . .                                       |  |
|    | <i>ʿyš</i> <sup>9</sup> the son of <i>ʿy</i> . . .                               |  |
|    | Mattan the son of <i>Šlm</i> the son of . . .                                    |  |
| 5  | Mesh<ull>am the son of <i>Šmʿî</i> . . .   |  |
|    | Shemaiah the son of <i>Šlm</i> . . .   |  |
|    | Menahem(?) the son of <i>Mš</i> . . .  |  |
|    | Haggai the son of <i>Iznî</i> <sup>10</sup> . . .                                |  |
|    | <i>ʿgr</i> (or <i>d</i> ) <sup>11</sup> the son of <i>ʿš</i> <sup>10</sup> . . . |  |
| 10 | Nathan the son of <i>Hydyîh</i> .  |  |

<sup>1</sup> Sachau misread this into "the curious name *nbtu*."

<sup>2</sup> Compare the curious name of the prophet Zephaniah's father, Cushi (Zeph. 1:1), found also Jer. 36:14. *ʿzyr*, *ʿAzzûr* or *ʿAzôr* is a hypocoristic form of Azariah or the like.

<sup>3</sup> Egyptian names. *Peî-Khnûm*.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. No. 15, Col. V, l. 4, n. 7.

<sup>5</sup> Nothing further than this numeral, corresponding to the similar numeral in Col. I, l. 8, is preserved of Col. II. It is clear that two names are missing at the top of Col. I; how much else is missing we do not know.

<sup>6</sup> Perhaps abbreviated from *ʿayîda* (Lidzbarski); Sachau and Ungnad read *D(or R)îd(or r)î*; cf. the queer *Lîly* and *Tb*, *APA* K (No. 32).

<sup>7</sup> Consonants exactly like *Sheva* (I Chron. 2:49; II Sam. 20:25).

<sup>8</sup> Cf. No. 31 = *APA* J 18; perhaps Baʿadiiah, "for me (i.e., my protector) is Jahweh" (Lidzbarski); Cowley aptly compares the king Iaubi-di of Hamath mentioned in the cuneiform inscriptions; see inscription of king *Zkr* of Hamath in the Appendix.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. No. 16, l. 8, n. 6; probably Jezaniah.

<sup>10</sup> Probably a compound with the name of the god *ʿšm*; hardly Eshcol (Gen. 14:13, 24), as Sachau proposes.

## NO. 20. NAME LIST

Names of extraordinary type; some Persian, the others what?  
*APE* Pap. 23 (P. 13482).

.....  
 . *tyh*<sub>1</sub> .....  
 . *br* .....  
*Bh*<sub>1</sub><sup>2</sup>  
 5 *U*<sub>1</sub>*h*<sup>3</sup>*stb* . . .  
*ribnu*<sup>2</sup> . . .  
*r*<sub>1</sub><sup>2</sup>  
*isk*  
*Prnm*  
 10 10 *Bgbh*<sub>1</sub><sup>3</sup>  
*Prn*<sub>1</sub><sup>3</sup>  
*Zbmn*  
*Prtnyn*  
*sid*<sub>1</sub><sup>4</sup>

## NO. 21. NAME LIST

*APE* Pap. 22 (P. 13483).

Column I contains only the sorriest scraps from the ends of eight lines running, as they approach the bottom, increasingly over toward, and finally into the territory of, Col. II. "And we judge" or "and was judged" and "they cry, shout," is the sum total of what can be made out with any degree of probability. The meaning of the peculiar signs before the names in Col. II has not yet been discovered.

## Column II

⌋ . . . *ih* the son of . . . .  
 ⌋ Haggai(?) the son of Zechar<iah?> . . .  
*M*(or *H*)<sup>2</sup>*d*(or *r*)<sup>3</sup> *hš* . . . .  
 ⌋ Shemaiah the son of . . . .  
 5 Hoshaiah the son of . . *nih*<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sachau reads *Brzi*, *Barzi*, Bardija, i.e., Smerdes.

<sup>2</sup> *Aprd̂avos*.

<sup>3</sup> Bāgabhukhša, i.e., *Meyd̂bušos*.

<sup>4</sup> Ašjadāta, present of Asja, angel of the seventeenth day of the month. As far as they have been identified at all, the names of this list are Iranian. All of them as far as they are preserved look strange, non-Jewish, non-Semitic.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. No. 15, Col. I, l. 6.

- Jaazaniah the son of . . . *tjh*<sup>1</sup>
- Zechariah the son of . . . *r* (or *d*) *ih*<sup>2</sup>
- Meshullam the son of . . . *znih* (Jaazaniah?)
- Jaazaniah the son of Hilkiah.<sup>3</sup>

## NO. 22. NAME LIST

Note the mixture of types. *APE* Pap. 24 (P. 13481).

## RECTO

- . . . . the son of Nath < an >  
 Ptjsj<sup>4</sup> the son of *Ntin* (or *Nls*)  
*R* (or *D*) . . the son of *Brk*<sup>5</sup>  
*Psy*<sup>6</sup> the son of *Kšj*  
 5 . *n*(?)*h*(?)*hnm* the son of *Hnmū*<sup>7</sup>  
 ʔ*mkdr*<sup>8</sup> the son of ʔ(?)*p*<sup>9</sup>  
 Hṣr the son of ʔ*skšj*<sup>10</sup>

## VERSO

- ʔ*mr*<sup>9</sup> the son of *Nbynd*.  
*Psy* the son of *Mnk*<sup>10</sup>  
 . . . . . *n*.

## II. LEGAL DOCUMENTS

A. *APA*

The ten documents included under this head form a sort of family archive containing records of a variety of legal transactions concerning questions of ownership and property rights, marital

<sup>1</sup> Jaazaniah; cf. No. 16, l. 8, n. 6; Sachau (with great assurance) and Ungnad read faultily an otherwise unknown *Pšjh*. The father's name may be supplemented with Sachau, Shephatiah (II Sam. 3:4; Jer. 38:1; Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, *passim*) or, more probably, because elsewhere found in these documents, Pelatiah, cf. No. 15, Col. II, l. 2, n. 7.

<sup>2</sup> If . . . *djh*, then probably Zebadiah (cf. No. 15, Col. I, l. 12, n. 5), or Obadiah (I Kings 18:3-7, 16; Obad. 1; I Chron. 3:21; 7:3; 8:38; 9:16, 44; 12:9; 27:19; II Chron. 17:7; 34:12; Ezra 8:9; Neh. 10:5; 12:25), not found elsewhere in these papyri, misread or misprinted by Cowley in *APA*, J=No. 31, l. 18 (cf. No. 19, l. 2, n. 8).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. No. 17, Col. I, l. 12, n. 6.

<sup>5</sup> Possibly Beeri (Hos. 1:1; Gen. 26:34).

<sup>4</sup> Egyptian Περῖος.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. No. 11, l. 11, n. 5.

<sup>7</sup> Both names are compounds with the name of the Egyptian god Khnūm; the second seems to be *Khnūm-oh* (cf. Pharaoh), "Khnun great," the lord of Yeb-Elephantine.

<sup>8</sup> ʔ*m-kudurri*; the Babylonian type of the name speaks for Ungnad's identification of ʔ*m* with *Išum*, a Babylonian god of pestilence.

<sup>9</sup> ʔ*m-rām*, cf. No. 15, Col. VIII, l. 1, n. 6, and preceding note.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. No. 11, l. 11, n. 5.

affairs, matters of inheritance, etc. They settled troubles of this nature for three generations of one and the same Jewish family in Elephantine, from 471-410 B.C. Perhaps they were gathered together to establish claims upon an inheritance with minor details of which the last of them deals. Whether this be so or not, these family papers were apparently kept together for some occasion of this sort; in any case, they are admirably adapted for such a purpose, establishing both legitimacy of descent and, chiefly, legal title to properties. Excellently preserved, they are as a set quite as interesting, and from some points of view nearly if not quite as important as anything yet found at Elephantine.

Their title, *Aramaic Papyri Discovered at Assuan*, dates from the days when the lie of the fellah finders was still believed, while their truth was rejected. The truth is, of course, that these, as well as *APE*, were found, not in any mysterious hole in the rock near Assuan, not on the main land at all, but on the island of Yeb-Elphantine.

All but the first, which is in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, are now in the Museum at Cairo, whose numerical designation will be set forth at the head of each together with the letter assigned to it by the original editors.

#### NO. 23. AGREEMENT CONCERNING A PARTY WALL(?)

It is not absolutely certain that a party wall, i.e., a wall on the boundary between the properties of two parties, is meant (see notes); the parallel with Kohler and Ungnad, *Hammurabi's Gesetz*, p. 29, No. 79, is striking and adds, perhaps, to the probability of the interpretation given below. In any case a party of the first part (A) has built on ground belonging to a party of the second part (B), and A here renounces all right of ownership in both ground and construction.

APA A, Bodl. Libr., Aram. MS, No. 1:

On the 18th of Elul, that is the 28th day of Pachons,<sup>1</sup> the 15th year

<sup>1</sup> On these double dates see "Chronological Notes," *AJSL*, XXVII (April, 1911), 233-66; also Ed. Mahler, "Die Doppeldaten der aramäischen Papyri von Assuan," *ZA*, XXVI (February, 1912), 61-76. The translator takes this occasion publicly to thank Mr. J. K. Fotheringham for the gift of a copy of his able article on the "Calendar-Dates in the Aramaic Papyri from Assuan," *Monthly Notices of the Royal Astronomical Society*, November, 1908.

- 2 of Xerxes<sup>1</sup> the king, said | *Qunih* the son of *Šdq* an Aramaean of  
 Syene, belonging to the colors of *Urjzt*, to *Mahseiah* the son of *Idnih*,  
 3 an Aramaean of Syene, | belonging to the colors of *Urjzt*,<sup>2</sup> saying:  
 I came to thee and thou didst give me the gateway of thy house  
 4 to build | one buttress-wall(?)<sup>3</sup> there. That buttress-wall which  
 is attached to my house at its corner which is toward the south  
 5 shall be thine. | That buttress-wall shall adjoin the side of my house  
 from the ground upwards from the corner of my house which is

<sup>1</sup> The date, as now generally accepted by all competent scholars, is September 12, 471 B.C.; Mahler's "17th of Elul" involves a misreading of the original, as is now generally recognized. Xerxes is written *Ḥšṣrš*, as in *APE* Pap. 70 (Tafel 57, Pap. 13442), No. 20 (a small fragment; beside the king's name only a few words, "he sent [word?] to thee," and "Egypt," can be read with certainty), and probably, also No. 29 (a still smaller fragment; bits of two lines are legible: . . . who [are] bound [as prisoners?] . . . | . . . <*Ḥ*>*šṣ*<*r*>*š*, the king" . . .); cf. also No. I, l. 1, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Of these names one only, Mahseiah, is found just so in the Old Testament (Jer. 32:12; 51:59; cf. No. 15, Col. I, l. 1). *Šdq* may be Zadok (II Sam. 8:17, etc.; I Kings 1:8, etc.; II Kings 15:33; Ezek. 40:46, etc.; Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah, *passim*), or some other form of abbreviation for *Zedekiah* or a similar name. *Urjzt* is Persian *Wartazath*, *Ὀυαρτζης*. *Dgl*, "flag, standard," translated "colors," cf. No. 14, l. 3, n. 4; see also G. B. Gray in *JQR*, XI, 92 ff. The word "colors" has been chosen in translation because it designates a flag used as an emblem to distinguish military units from one another; complete transfer of meaning as in the German "Fähnlein" has not been made in English. The reading *rgl*, translated "quarter (clientèle)" by Cowley, may now be dropped as very improbable.

<sup>3</sup> The word here translated "buttress wall" may in the original be read either *ṣgr* or *ṣgd*. The one thing quite clear is that *Qunih* must build on Mahseiah's ground (see plan, to follow *APA*), the stipulation of this document being that both ground and construction shall be Mahseiah's property. This indicates a necessity, rather than a luxury. Now, a real necessity in not a few cases, as shown by the excavations (*ZäS*, XLVI [1910], 1-61), was a buttress wall, since the mud-brick (adobe) walls not infrequently weakened and became unsafe, either through faults in hasty construction or by reason of the frailty of the material. If we read *ṣgr*, Assyrian, Persian, and Arabic derivatives from this root suggest the meaning given above, which further fits the description of ll. 4 and 5 perfectly. A *maṣṭaba* (Cowley) is much less probable. *ṣgd*, a vaulted construction, probably of wood, to support an extension of *Qunih's* (roof-) terrace (Barth, *Rév. Sémi.*, XVII, 149 ff., and many German scholars after him) would have been a decided luxury, for wood was scarce in Elephantine; it would be imperfectly described in ll. 4 and 5 ("from the ground up," and it would probably have extended to Mahseiah's house as well as to Zechariah's), and of such wood construction in the private houses of that time the excavations discovered no remains nor palpable trace. If *ṣgd* be read, then a vaulted or arched support of a staircase leading to the roof or upper story of *Qunih's* house would be more probable, judging from the finds. Even so, however, Cowley's "at the upper end" instead of "toward the south" is wrong; upward, i.e., upstream, is south, downward is north in these papyri, as from time immemorial in Egypt.

- 6 toward the south as far as the house of Zechariah.<sup>1</sup> | Neither tomorrow nor on any later day shall I have power to restrain thee  
 7 from building upon (*or* above) this thy buttress-wall. | If I should restrain thee, I will pay thee the sum of 5 *krš* by the king's weights,  
 8 pure silver,<sup>2</sup> and that buttress-wall | <shall be thine> nevertheless.<sup>3</sup> And if *Qynih* should die, neither tomorrow nor on any later

<sup>1</sup> This line was omitted at the first writing; it is crowded between what are now ll. 4 and 6. It is interesting that one of the parties to the agreement, probably Mahseiah, in whose interest it was drawn up, should have noticed the omission of this important legal detail and insisted upon its insertion. The legal usage of these documents reflects Babylonian rather than Egyptian law and practice (although of the latter we know very little). Space and time forbid the giving of parallels in detail. The student and general reader is referred to Sayce's brief statement in the Introduction to *APA*, to C. H. W. Johns, *Babylonian and Assyrian Laws, Contracts, and Letters* (New York, 1904), and to Kohler and Ungnad, *Hundert ausgewählte Rechtsurkunden* (Leipzig, 1911). For more serious study the following works may be recommended: Kohler and Peiser, *Aus dem babylonischen Rechtsleben* (Leipzig, 1890); C. H. W. Johns, *Assyrian Deeds and Documents* (Cambridge, 1898-1901); *Business Documents of Murashu Sons*, Bab. Exp. of the University of Pennsylvania, Series A, No. IX, 1898 (Hilprecht and Clay), and Vol. X, 1904 (Clay); A. T. Clay, *Babylonian Records in the Library of Pierpont Morgan*, Part I, 1912, and, especially, Part II, 1913. See also, Kohler, Peiser, and Ungnad, *Hammurabi's Gesetz* (Leipzig, 1904-9). For comparison with Talmudic usage, one may consult S. Fuchs, "Talmudische Rechtsurkunden," *Mitteilungen des Seminars für oriental. Sprachen* (Berlin, 1912 and 1915), and in *Zeitschrift für vergleich. Rechtswissenschaft*, XXX (1913).

<sup>2</sup> The *Krš*, as these papyri show, is a "tenner," a money value (coin?) of ten shekels. "The king's weights," literally "stones" (cf. the singular of the same expression in II Sam. 14:26) represent a standard fixed by the royal government; the standard for the silver shekel was 5.6 grams in weight, representing a money value of \$0.27846, making the *krš* or "tenner" 56 grams=\$2.7846; cf. No. 11, l. 12, n. 7, and No. 14, ll. 7 and 9. The translation "pure silver" is practically certain. It occurs but once more in these papyri, No. 32 (*APA K*), ll. 10-11. Its exact meaning as a technical term in these locutions dealing with money values cannot be determined; whether or not it be an equivalent for the expression "*r* (or *d*) 2 to the tenner," used in similar connections elsewhere (see note on No. 24=*APA B*, l. 15) cannot be said. It is possible that a payment in silver, without regard to the gold standard for money values obtaining in the Persian empire, was intended. This fine for the amount of a sum agreed upon to be paid as penalty for offense against the agreement which constitutes the substance of the document is a characteristic feature in these papyri; cf. also Nos. 1 and 2.

<sup>3</sup> Cowley, "assuredly." "Shall be" or "is thine" is omitted by inadvertence, or, rather, "that buttress-wall" was written for "the buttress-wall shall be thine" (cf. ll. 10, 11); such slips are not uncommon in these documents (see l. 5, above, with n. 1), although in other respects legal details are highly developed. However well fixed the forms might be, duplicates were not struck off by a printing press or manifold machine in those days; they were written by the human hand.

- 9 day shall son or daughter, brother or sister, | near or distant relative,  
trooper or civilian,<sup>1</sup> have power to restrain *Mhsh*<sup>2</sup> or any descendant<sup>3</sup>  
10 of his from building upon (*or* above) | that buttress-wall of his.  
Whoever shall restrain any one of them shall pay to him the sum  
11 which is written above, and the buttress-wall | shall be thine never-  
theless, and thou shalt have full power to build upon (*or* above) it  
12 upwards,<sup>4</sup> and I *Qunih* shall not have power | to say to *Mhsh*,  
saying: That gateway is not thine, and thou shalt not go forth (by  
13 it) into the street which is | between us and the house of *Psf<sup>c</sup>unih<sup>s</sup>*  
the sailor. If I should restrain thee, I will pay thee the sum which  
14 is written above, | and thou shalt have full power to open that  
gateway and to go forth (by it) into the street which is between us. |  
15 *Pelaṭiah*<sup>6</sup> the son of *Ahio*<sup>7</sup> has written this deed at the dictation<sup>8</sup> of  
16 *Qunih*. The witnesses thereto<sup>9</sup>: | witness *Mhsh* the son of *Isaiah*,  
17 witness *Šibrzn* the son of *ṽrlḫ*,<sup>10</sup> | witness *Shemaiah* the son of *Hosea*,  
18 witness *Prtprn* the son of *ṽrtprn*,<sup>11</sup> | witness *Bgdt* the son of *Nbykdri*,<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Literally "master of flag and city," "flag" being the same word as that which is translated "colors" above, ll. 2 f., and elsewhere. Cowley's "foreign resident or citizen" rests upon his imperfect understanding of this word and of the military character of the "foreign residents," whom the later and larger finds of *APÉ* definitely show to have been a Persian garrison.

<sup>2</sup> Clearly abbreviation of *Mahseiah*, l. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Literally "son"; Cowley's "his son" is too narrow and does not exactly render the original.

<sup>4</sup> E.g., by placing upon it one side of a barrel vault to span the gate or passageway, the other side springing from the side of *Mahseiah*'s house, to which by this process a new room might be added. This makes for the translation "buttress-wall"; for what could be built upon a staircase? Or what good would an extension of his roof terrace be to *Qunih*, if it might be "built upon" at any moment thereafter, the space itself not being his property in any case.

<sup>5</sup> Clearly an Egyptian name, meaning "his breath is in the hands of Neit," the goddess; his son, described as a cataract sailor or boatman, occurs a few years later in Nos. 24 and 25 (*APA* B and D). For a graphic illustration of the probable situation of these houses, streets, and passageways with respect to each other see plan to follow *APA*.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. No. 15, Col. II, l. 2, n. 7; No. 21, Col. II, l. 6, n. 1.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. No. 13, l. 5, n. 5.

<sup>8</sup> Literally "according to the mouth of."      <sup>9</sup> Literally "within."

<sup>10</sup> *Satibarzanes* (Persian); the father's name may be an abbreviation of a compound with the North-Syrian goddess *Athtar*, even though there be here no further *ṽ* to change the first to *ṽ*, as in *ṽAṭar-ateh*, *Athargatis*. This is, however, by no means certain.

<sup>11</sup> *Phrataphernes*, son of *Artaphernes*, both Persian.

<sup>12</sup> *Baga-dāta* (*Bagdates* = Persian), son of *Nabû-kudurri* (Babylonian).

- 19 *Nbylî* the son of *Drg*,<sup>1</sup> | witness *Bntrš* the son of *Rhmr*,<sup>2</sup> witness *Šlm* the son of Hoshaiah.

*Docket* (on the outside of the roll)

Deed<sup>3</sup> of the buttress-wall which he built, written by *Qynîh* to *Mhsh*.

<sup>1</sup> Nabû-lî(u) (Babylonian); *Drg*, abbreviated from *Drgmn*, No. 24 = *APA* B, l. 2; cf. No. 27 = E, l. 19(?).

<sup>2</sup> The first name, not elsewhere found, may be Babylonian; the second, whose reading is not altogether certain, seems to be a compound of the Semitic *rh̄m*, perhaps "mercy (of)," and the great Egyptian sun-god Re, who was combined with Khnum of Elephantine into Khnum-Re.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps better "document," as being less specific; yet most of these documents are "deeds," and so the word may stand, as the first translator, Cowley, put it.